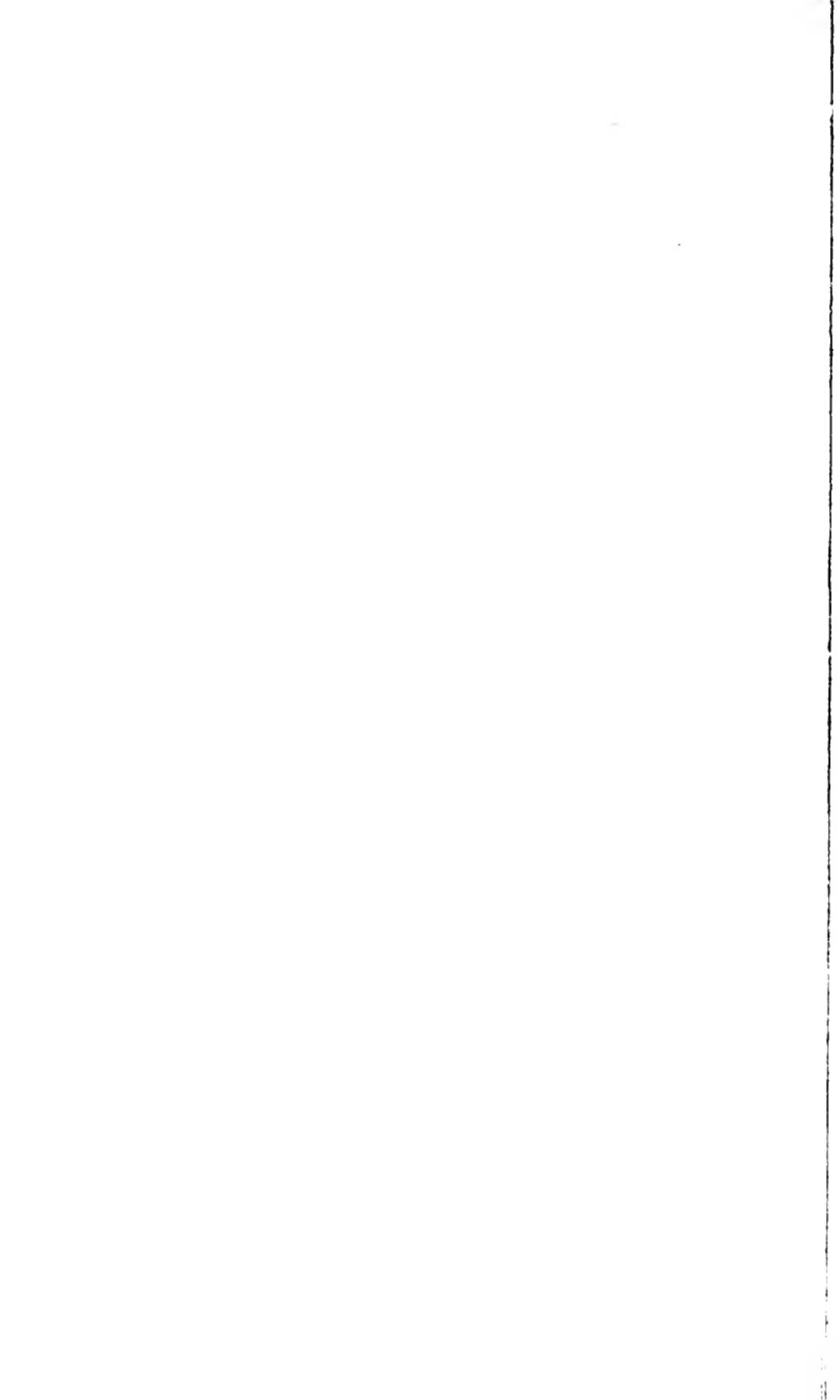


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A

Seasonable RECAPITULATION, &c.

HERE is nothing in which the Generality of Mankind are so much mistaken as when they talk of Government: The different Effects of it are obvious to every one of common Sense, but few can or, indeed, dare trace its Causes: Publick Miscarriages are reasonably attributed to the Corruption of Times, and when the whole Mass begins to be so infected that there is scarce a Possibility of Reformation, too many and shameful, are the Numbers, who rather incline to submit patiently to their Country's Calamities, or to share in the Spoil, than struggle, as they ought, for its Deliverance. We have our own Experience, as well as the Example of all Times, to prove that Men, in the same Power and Circumstances, will do the same things, call them by what Religion or Party you please; except they are honest, can withstand Temptations, and keep themselves independent. It is certain most People act for their own Interest, and all wise Governments are also founded upon that Principle; so that it is very clear the Interest of the Governors and the Governed, in all free States or Kingdoms ought to be the same: In absolute Governmen'ts, where the whole Power is in one Man, his Interest is chiefly regarded; in a Republick the Interest of a few; but in a Free Government, such as *England* ought to be, the Interest of every one is the same; and that would naturally be the Case of *Britons*, if the wicked Abuses that have crept into our Constitution were remov'd; and which must every Day prove more and more destructive, till thoroughly root-ed out. The whole Freedom and Happiness of the People of *England* depends upon their chusing the House of Commons, that most essential Part of the Legislature, who have the sole Power in disposing of the Publick's Money;

and when that proves to be a true Representative, free From Force or Bribery, nothing can pass there but what is for the publick Advantage; for their own lasting Interest, and that of their Posterity, is so interwoven with the Good of the People, that whenever they act truely and honestly, they must act for the Interest of their Country; and if a few, or any number, should think it their Interest to abuse that Power so lodg'd in them, no Means ought to be left untry'd to punish them; and it is the Duty and Interest of every honest Man in *England* to join impartially, and zealously, in so just and laudable an Undertaking. This is the Fountain-head from which the People expect every good Thing, and the Redress of all their Grievances; and while that continues pure, no Arts or Contrivances whatsoever can injure us: Our Constitution flourish'd for many Years under such glorious Influence; and the Nation can never be happy, or hope to recover its present Ruin, before it is again thoroughly fix'd upon the original Foundation, and the Independency of the Commons preserv'd inviolable, according to their primitive Institution; which can never happen but by a Prohibition of Placemen and Pensioners — The Places in the King's Gift, 'till within the last Century, were but few, and most of them Patent Places for Life, which, when once given, could not be taken away again; and the other great Offices of State, enjoy'd by single Persons, seldom fell to the Share of the Commons such as Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, Privy Seal, Lord High Admiral, &c and when these Offices were possess'd by the Lords, the Commons were severall Inquisitors into their Actions; whereby the Publick was always secure, and the Commons remain'd, as they ought in a State of Free-agency; and properly qualified to do Justice to their Constituents.

In the Usurpation of *Cromwell*, the Army had got all Things into their Power, and governed the Nation by a Council of War, which made all Parties join, at last, in calling in *Charles II*: so that he came in with the general Applause of the People, who, being overjoy'd at their miraculous Deliverance from Tyranny, and the Power of an Usurper, in a most kind Fit gave him a vast Revenue, as it was call'd in them Days, for Life; tho' not a quarter Part of what ha since been given; however, by that Means, he was enabled to raise an Army, and bribe the Parliament, which he did to the Purpose, not doubting to find his Account in it, and that it might put an effectual Stop to any Imputations of Popery, or other Impediments; but being a luxurious

luxurious Prince, devoted to his Pleasures, he could not part with great Sums at once, and only fed them from Hand to Mouth so that they found it as necessary to keep him in a constant Dependance upon them as they had upon him: They knew he would give them ready Money no longer than he had absolute Occasion for them; and, as to Places, he had no such Number in his Gift, to secure a Majority in the House by that Means; for in those early Days the Art was no found out of splitting and multiplying Places; as instead of a Lord Treasurer to have five; instead of a Lord Admiral to have seven; fourteen of the Customs in *England* and *Scotland*; nine of the Excise; fourteen of the Navy; eight of Trade; besides the Post Office; Virtual-living-Office; Salt-Office; Wine-Licences; Hackney-Coaches; and, in a Word, all the other Offices, of different kinds, too long and endless to enumerate; which are extraordinary Means, and powerful Temptations, to bring Men over for certain Purposes, and to continue them so, as all these Places are only held during Pleasure, or so long as they behave well; which must be allowed to be prevailing Motives with any, who are, from time to time, posseſſ'd of them, to act very cautiously, and with the utmost Circumpection, with regard to the Duties of such valuable Offices; which if once lost, by any Neglect whatsoever, can scarce be regain'd; and to all these Civil Employments let us add the Officers of the Army and Navy, with a great number of the Peers of *Ireland*, who get into our *English* House of Commons, most, if not all of whom, have Posts or Employments in their own Country, or Pensions upon the Establishment there, which is the same thing; and these Circumstances duly and impartially considered, sure no Man, of common Reason, can believe that the original Design, of that useful and valuable part of our Legislature, can be ever effectually answered, under those Restrictions and Influences, which must naturally be the Consequences of such an extensive Dependency; or that it may not destroy the ancient Freedom and Independency of Parliament; which may reasonably be the Source of all the Misfortunes and Calamities, under which the Nation so visibly labours at this Day; and which can never be removed without a thorough Reformation of those Hardships and Abuses in the Constitution, which have been so many Years the Subject of our just Complaints, and Uneasinesses; but if no Remonstrances, no Intreaties, or Self-conviction, can prevail on our Representatives, to endeavour at a Redress, the more unhappy is our Fate, and for ever recorded in Infamy
 must

they be, who suffer others to ruin that Country, which was in their Power to save

Not only the Laws of this Kingdom, but of other Places, and the *Roman* Laws provide, that the Prince should not be deceived; for he whose Thoughts are employ'd in the weighty Cares of Empire, cannot be presumed to inspect minuter Things so carefully as private Persons; and who are the People to look to, for this Purpose, but the Nation's Representatives? The Laws used to inflict severe Punishments upon all such as defrauded, or distressed the Publick, because whoever does so abuses the Father of the Publick, the King: and such Laws seem to be chiefly level'd against them, who were in the greatest Trust; therefore the legislative Power of all Countries have rigorously punish'd those, whose Wickedness and Corruptions have occasioned publick Distresses and Grievances; and what cannot even a few of the worthy Representatives of a Free People do, in Favour of a sinking injured Nation, upon a vigilant Application, assisted by the wholesome Laws of *England*, notwithstanding all the Endeavours of bad Ministers, and their Minions, to the contrary? Kings are the Fathers of their People; and can it be possible that they should reject the just Complaints of their Children, were they only convey'd thro' the Hands of a common Porter, was there no other Method left for so doing? But sure the Kingdom is not so far lost, or depraved, that one honest, faithful Representative cannot be pitched upon, out of each County at least, to speak the Sense of the whole; and for ever great and valuable must that select Number be, in the Annals of their Country, who shall so worthily perfisit in relieving it from its present insupportable Burdens, and that Fatal Management, which is so apparently contrary to the Constitution, and the Interest of all Free-born Subjects of *Great Britain*. It was never intended, either, from good Policy or common Justice, that Kings should account themselves Fathers or Protectors of a Party only, or of none but Favourites, who rush into the Presence to whisper, and too often to deceive and abuse them: No!—they are Fathers of the whole Body of the People; and their paternal Affection ought to reach all their Subjects alike, free from any Distinctions, but the Rewards of Virtue and Merit, without which no Man is capable of acting with Honour, or for the Good of the Publick, let his Pretence to Religion, or Party, be what it will; and as in private Families Partiality begets Hatred, and creates Divisions;

Divisions; so in a Nation it produces Discontent and Heart-burnings, to see a few Flatterers, who have no superior Merit, lifted high above all the rest, inrich'd with the Spoils of their Country, and luxuriously wallowing in Grandeur and Wealth, while a whole Nation groans under the heavy Burdens of Debts and Taxes, and all the Impositions that can be devised to make them miserable.

Not that any Man should repine that the King should have particular Friends, with whom he may communicate his Thoughts, and unbend his Cares, nor to see such Friends rewarded with Favours whenever they deserve it; but the Nation cannot but behold with Indignation Men exalted, who either from a want of Virtue, or Ability, lead the Nation into destructive dishonourable Measures; who arrogate to themselves the little Good that may accidentally, rather than naturally, happen, from the weak and wicked Manner of their Proceedings; and, occasionally, lay all the Blame of Miscarriages upon unfortunate Councils. These are the Wretches whose Advice tends entirely to their own private Profit, without Consideration of their Master's or the publick Welfare; and who make no Scruple to rob and deceive the Prince, tho' their Country pays for it; but sure the Wants of the People, crying aloud so many Years past for Redress, ought, at last, to awaken some good Patriots, and truly brave British Spirits, be the Number of the Offenders what it will, to endeavour to bring to Condemnation, all such as have, in Breach of the Trust repos'd in them by the People, been any way instrumental in the present Ruin and Disgrace, which the Kingdom is so visibly brought under. No Princes are so able and well qualified to mend what is amiss in any State, as they who enjoy their Crown from the Subjects Gift; for elected Kings, especially such as are Call'd and made Choice of, from a Foreign Country, are presumed to come in upon the Foot of Reformation, and so are justified by the Voices of all Mankind, in pursuing the Ends for which they were call'd by the People: It, therefore, such Kings are severe in looking into their Affairs, and will rigorously punish those, who, in Violation of their Trust, have suffered and introduced all manner of Iniquities, purely to enrich and aggrandize themselves at the Publick's Ruin, it cannot fail meeting with the universal Applause and Thanks of the People in general, whom such Care and Justice relieves from frequent and heavy Taxes; and sure nothing less can be expected from the Wisdom and Resolution of the

the Prince who now fills the Throne, upon a due Representation of our present national Oppressions.

A King can never want Assistance who is willing to enquire into Abuses, and the Factions of those will be found very weak, whose Interest it is to protect Male-Administration, whenever he is in earnest to have the Publick redressed, and what has been wrong amended; because but a few are Gainers by Misgovernment and wicked Management, in Consideration of the Multitude that are injured by it. But as all Seasons are not proper for Physick, so all Times are not fit for purging the Body-politick of a Nation: Times of Action and War might not be thought so convenient for such Councils as tend to correct public and enormous Abuses in the State; therefore, during the late War, some Things have been done in *England*, which the King, in his high Wisdom, may soon think necessary to animadvert upon, when he is more at Leisure from his Business in the Field: and no doubt, when he begins upon so good a Work, he will be assisted by all the best Men of every Party, and by the whole Body of his People. It is to be hoped now, after paying very dear for our Experience, that we may come to consider a little, that no Country was ever great and strong enough to carry on long Wars, without any other Fund but its own Revenues; and that all Nations, who have attempted it, have been soon exhausted; for a tedious Course of high Taxes, rais'd to maintain Armies abroad, must inevitably ruin any People, be their Success what it will; but when attended with nothing but barren Expeditions, and the worst of Success, and that, at last, in order to obtain any kind of Peace, which our Enemies may vouchersafe to grant us, we must give up the little Honour and Advantage we had got, great must be our Misfortunes, and too shocking to be more minutely described. As to our Miscarriages in the late War on the Continent, with the Wickedness and Distraction of ever entering into it; so much has already been said and repeated on that Subject, and the dismal Effects of it are so evident, and also so liable to stick long to us, that scarce an honest Cobler in the Kingdom bat knows sufficient to convince, even the Promoters and Advocates for it, that they ought to be ashamed of their Actions; which have not only rivetted the Chains of our former and long complain'd of Oppressions, but have, with that, entail'd new and lasting Calamities on us and our Posterity, which neither Time, or Method, can well remove; without something more extraordinary should favour our Relief, than human

human Knowledge can, at present, foresee, or form an Idea of.

Who can pretend to say that this is not our unhappy Case to a clear Demonstration? Has not every Branch of our Home Consumptions, and whatever we eat, drink, or wear, a Load upon it? Is not, all manner of Traffick more charged already than can possibly consist with the Interest of a trading Nation? Is not Four Shillings in the Pound upon Land, or even half of it to be continued, certain Ruin to the landed Interest of *England*? And are not these unheard-of Grievances among our Ancestors? If past wicked Conduct has made many of those Miseries unavoidable, must not the People think themselves most cruelly dealt with by their Representatives, if immediate Care be not now taken to remove, as much as possible, such Evils? Is not the whole Kingdom pawn'd, and mortgag'd, over and over again, even in such manner as would make it criminal, in the Eye of the Law, for a private Person to mortgage his Estate? And can it be safe for our Constitution, or consistent with the Rights of *Englishmen*, that there should be, even in Time of Peace, Occasion to levy perhaps seven or eight Millions a Year, to defray the Interest of Debts, and answer the other Wants of the Government? And, what is still worse, and renders our Conditions more intolerable, that great Part of this Money so raised, is the real Property of Foreigners, in Proportion to what they have in the Funds, besides a great deal more of it, which is sent and spent abroad, without any Advantage or Returns whatsoever; of which every honest Man, cut of Bedlam, must be so sensible, for many Years past, that it ought to be an Affront to attempt any further Explanation of what they are already so thoroughly convinced of in their Consciences—Good Patriots, and faithful Friends to their Country, can never think *Great Britain* in a State of Relief, by any Methods of raising Money, but such as may sink Part of the principal Debt, and hinder us from being eaten up by the Canker of Usury, which has been so destructive to our Government: nor can Trade ever flourish, or Liberty be safe, 'till our Payments to the Publick are reduced; tho' the more has been granted, the more we have hitherto run in Debt; and 'till that is discharged, by some Means or other, we must remain in a State of Servitude and Slavery.

Let us now consider to whom, and what Sort of People, this burthensome immense Debt is due?—Why truly to a Parcel of overgrown rich Monopolizers, and destructive Engrossors of Trade, together with a Number of lazy,

useless Members of the Commonwealth, who are no better than Drones in a Hive, and to a Tribe of Jews, Stock-jobbers and Foreigners; with a few of the Offspring of avaricious Statesmen, Placemen and Pensioners: The former of which having, from time to time, heaped up vast Sums of Money by their Monopolies, to the Ruin of Thousands of their Fellow-Subjects, who in Common Justice, as well as national good Policy, ought to have the same Privileges of trading to all Parts of the World, not knowing how to employ such large Sums, or rather not chusing to run any farther Hazards in Trade, have always been forward to gratify the Government, upon every capricious Emergency; believing it the safest Method to secure that Part of their Acquisitions, and the best Means of acquiring more, by the Countenance and Protection they are sure of from such Occasions; and as to the Drones, and useless Members, as they may justly be call'd, they having, also, from time to time, Money left them in the Stocks, by their Friends and Relations, of the original Class of overgrown rich Ones, &c continue it there, being sure, as they think, of a perpetual Annuity, by the Interest of it, which is punctually and regularly paid, out of the Peoples Purse; and tho' many of these have been bred to Trade, they leave it off; and, besides what is thus left them in the Funds, and their Stock in Trade to it likewise, and so lead a luxurious indolent Life, without being any otherwise serviceable to their Country, by their Knowledge or Industry; and, as to the rest, they may be included in one Class, and properly compared to the Keepers of Box and Dice, at a Gaming-Table, who, by Degrees, insensibly run away with all the Profits, and, let who will be ruined in the End, they make sure of the Gain.

The Necessities of the Government is the Life and Support of this Set of People; and while their Schemes, for Supplies, are followed, tho' all the rest of the Nation are ruin'd by it, they'll endeavour, and contrive, to lend on to the End of the Chapter, were it only to secure the Interest of what is due to them already; and they are come to that Pass now, that their whole is employ'd in supporting the Funds; otherwise is it possible, that when their Interest there was but 3, and $3 \frac{1}{2}$ per Cent that Gentlemen of Honour, and undeniably Titles to their Estates, might wait Years before they could borrow Money, on such solid Security, at 4, $4 \frac{1}{2}$, or 5 per Cent. Interest; which is known to be every Day the Case? And when these Men are apply'd to—— they tell you with a kind of Scorn, —and haughty

haughty Indifference—‘ That it’s true—they have a pretty large Sum in their Bankers Hands, or in the Bank—but—that they don’t care to engage it,—for they wait the Motion of the Stocks—in which they soon hope to have an Opportunity of laying it out to better Advantage,—and being deeply concerned in the Funds already,—they rather chuse to employ their Money that way,—, and, therefore, while it lies at the Bank, or at the Bankers, it is always ready, at a Moment’s Warning —according to what offers in the Stocks—where, tho’ their Interest is but low—, Egad they think it preferable to a larger Interest upon Land-Security—every thing considered;—for our Interest here, say they, is punctually paid—on the Spot—, without any Hazard or Trouble—, and, as long as the present good Family reigns—of which there seems but little Danger—, they are sure of that being duly answered—, and that they look upon their Property in the Funds to be quite secure—&c;—for truly it is but a bad Time to purchase Lands—or to have to do with Mortgages—, when Taxes and Poors Rates run so high—, and Rents are so badly paid:—and this is well known to be the Language of these Caterpillars, who, by their strict Adherence to this kind of Traffick in the Funds, ruin all personal Credit, as well as publick Commerce; and, by keeping Possession of the ready Money of the Nation, make even the Court, as well as others, dependent on them and their Change-Alley Associates, But what a melancholy Consideration must it afford, to every honest Briton, that we should come to such a Period, when the Landed Interest of England is in worse Credit, or not so desirable a Security, as a Piece of Change-Alley Paper, in the Hands of Jews and Stock-jobbers, whose whole Study, and Trade, is to deceive and over-reach Mankind; and what a weak infatuated People must the English be, after what they have known, and felt, in the iniquitous South-Sea Year, which was within a little of ruining the whole Kingdom at one Stroke, to be so fond of employing so many Millions in the Stocks, which might be more advantageously laid out in purchasing and improving of Lands; for the Encouragement of all useful Arts; and to extend the Trade and Industry of their Fellow-Subjects?

All Trading-Countries ought to consider, that the more Money is employ’d in publick Loans, the less they must have to carry on Trade; for when Men draw their Money out of Business to lend to the Government upon

every extravagant Enterprize, and accept of Funds, or mortgag'd Taxes, as a Security, they evidently begin, from that time, to lessen that Stock they used to increase; and if the money'd Men of the Kingdom had no such pernicious Channels to dabble in, they would be glad of the Opportunities before mentioned to improve what they had got; and would be always ready enough to lend their honest industrious Neighbours, in Trade and Business, such Sums as they had occasion for, from time to time, on personal Security, and at lawful Interest, which they could well afford to pay, besides the increasing of their Stock, by such seasonable useful Assistance at proper Seasons, and as Occasion required, to support Credit; and that would often put a Stop to many of the fatal Bankrup'ties that daily happen for want of that personal Credit, which used to flourish among us, in former Times, before any such thing as the Names of Stocks, or Funds, was heard of in *England*; since which the unwary, on one hand, have been drawn into that Method of employing their Money, and the indolent in Trade and Business on the other, have been diverted from following what they were originally brought up in, to run into this vile *Change-Alley* Gaming; which has been the Source and Inlet to those heavy D^bts and Taxes which the Nation labours under at this Time; for it may be very reasonably concluded that, if there were no such destructive Resources, for raising Money, many better Ways and Means had long since been put in Practice, which these People, concerned in the Funds, will ever prevent, to support their own wicked Views and Measures; and, if the Government was not so deeply linked in with them, it might perhaps oblige some of our publick Managers to shew a little more Regard and Frugality, in disposing of the Publick's Money, and also prevent their running into so many unnecessary, expensive, wrong-judged Schemes, both Abroad and at Home, when they had none of these Usurers at hand; whose sole Interest it is to incumber us more and more, so as to fix every thing unalterably under their Yoke; for they being now so deeply engaged they cannot look back, but must go on in lending whenever the Government think fit to call upon them; or as long as the People have a Penny left to pay the Interest.
Let us, in the next place, come to consider the Numbers which may be supposed to be concern'd in the Funds, and how few they are, putting them all together Jews and Gentiles at Home, and Foreigners Abroad, in regard to the Millions of honest industrious British Subjects who are daily rack'd to Death,

by

by exorbitant heavy Taxes to pay the Interest due to these usurious *Jews*, and Prostitutes; who, by their Artifices, to support this imaginary Mine of Riches, tho' made up of nothing but Paper, bask in Ease and Sun-shine, and tatten upon the Ruins of their Country, unacquainted with the Necessities, and Distresses, which overwhelm the rest of their Fellow-subjects.

Supposing then that thirty thousand Persons, of all kinds, both at Home and Abroad, have a Property in the Funds, which I take to be too large a Number, because so many at only two thousand five hundred Pounds each, one with another, amounts to seventy five Millions Sterling, which is pretty near the Debt of the Nation; and many have much larger Sums employ'd that way, and I believe but few less, except some of the nibbling kind, and those who are every Day buying and selling in the *Alley*; but, admitting the Number to be thirty thousand, as before, is the Interest of such a Part, of these useless destructive Members of a Commonwealth, to be put in Competition with the landed Interest of *England*, and the Welfare, and Happiness, of nine or ten Millions of other good Subjects, who suffer in Trade, by the wicked pernicious Practices of this Set of People and their Agents, and who must, at last, be totally ruined, except they are soon relieved from the Burdens they have so long, and many Years labour'd under, as before explain'd? — not that its to be understood that proper Justice, and a due Regard to the Interest of such Persons, should be neglected, let what will happen, or who will be in Power; but, at the same time, the general Interest of the Nation ought to take place of that of any Body of overgrown rich People, who have enough, and to spare, whenever Matters arrive at such a Crisis as to require a few to be Sufferers, in some Degree, in order to save the whole; which has ever been thought reasonable, and justifiable, in all well-govern'd Kingdoms, as well as Societies; and innumerable are the Instances that could be given of such Things, both in ancient and modern History, with which many of our Readers must already be sufficiently acquainted.

The Founders of our *English* Government were entire Strangers to these destructive Methods of raising Money, as well as to all unnatural Loads upon Trade, and Industry, such as high Customs and Excises, the Feudation, and first Sources, of our present Calamities; to prevent which they originally made ample Provision for their Kings by Revenues, and Lands, call'd Crown-Lands, which they might deem their own, and was therefore always paid without the least

least Murmuring or Uneasiness, when attended with none of the ruinous Incumbrances before-mentioned; and this was the Care of our good, and wise Ancestors, in forming the Constitution of *England*, and settling, as they thought, a fair Inheritance upon their Princes, sufficient to maintain their State and Dignity at Home, and to defend them against their Enemies abroad; but this Model, of a politick wholesome Constitution, is soon destroyed whenever Kings, guided by wicked corrupt Ministers, persist in keeping up larger Armies than their Revenues can maintain; and run into all manner of Profuseness, and Extravagancies, as well as unnecessary expensive Wars, and Disputes, regarding foreign Dominions only: and no way relative to the Interest or Happiness, of that Kingdom, or People, for whose Support and Protection, they have been so generously made Choice of: But—alas! what Ideas can any reasonable unprejudiced Men form, of the Honour, or Principles, of such as have not only suffer'd all Kinds of Evil to remain uncondemn'd, but have also introduc'd many others, of much worse Consequence, notwithstanding the many specious Pretences for the Revolution, under the late Prince of Orange, King *William*, which was to be the *Basis* of our future Liberty and Happiness? And yet it has been apparent to all *Europe*, that the good People of *England*, by what Means let the Readers judge, have been ever since loaded with all kinds of Taxes, and Excises, those Nursuries of Funds, to a Degree unknown in any other Country; whereby they've been, insensibly, drawn into the irrecoverable Debts, they now droop under; which no reasonable Man, of any Party, can, sure, believe to have been the original Design of that extraordinary unprecedented Event, tho', I think, no body can deny it to be the Case; —and then, how shocking should it be to every honest impartial *Briton*, who is capable of Reflection, to consider the former, unreasonable Clamours, that have been rais'd, and propagated, against many of our native, hereditary *Princes*, and their *Administration*, rather from groundless Jealousies, and Suspicions, than any such woful Proofs of our Miseries and Management, as has appear'd at other Times? which might be more particularly set forth, could it be thought necessary for the Conviction of the Reader, or that it would procure us any future Advantage?

All Men of common Reason, who know any thing of the Constitution, or the Affairs of *England*, have been ready to allow that the chief Motive of the Prince of Orange's Invitation, in the Reign of his unfortunate Father-in-law,

James

James the Second, was purely to reconcile the unhappy Misunderstandings, then subsisting between the King and his People; and to act the Part of a Mediator, but no more; tho' even in that Case, there was nothing in his Power, had the real Design of his coming been as he pretended, but what an honest British Parliament might have done as effectually, of themselves; as was soon after manifested, when it became obvious, to all moderate, unprejudiced Men, what his main Drift was; and that when he had got Possession of the Crown, he never inclin'd, of himself, to shew any greater Regard for the Good or Interest of *England*, or to give the People any better Testimony of their future Liberty, and Happiness, than they had before; on the contrary it was soon perceiv'd, by all that would see, that the Court swarm'd with *Dutchmen*, and other Foreigners, whose Power and Interest, were preferable to that of our *ancient Nobility* and *Gentry*; that the enriching and aggrandizing his own dear Country, *Holland*, was his earliest Care, of which there needs no better Evidence than their formidable Power and Appearance ever since; and when the weak deluded People had a little recover'd themselves from the Frights they had been hurried into, and those raw-head and bloody-bone Stories fit to terrify old Women and Children, the thinking Part of the Nation began to dread what they had been about; and to wish that the sudden Change might answer their just Expectations, according to what had been before represented; for, in fine, they clearly apprehended some Mistakes on both Sides; and that every thing promis'd them, had it been as exactly perform'd, might have been as advantageously and firmly fix't, by *Parliament*, as by any Methods that he seem'd inclinable to, when he had got the Power into his Hands; it being, as is publickly known, and may appear by the Annals of that Reign, full six Years before he could be prevail'd upon to make any essential Alteration, agreeable to his Declarations, for our future Security, with regard to the frequent Calling, and Meetings of Parliaments, and other Things complained of, as very heavy Grievances, before his coming; tho' at the same time he might have recollect'd, as well as the People, that it was held adviseable to part with his poor Father *James*, at so short a Time as three Year's Trial, without considering who were his Advisers, or had suffer'd him to run into Errors, contrary to the Constitution, and disagreeable to his Subjects; which the Parliament, as it was pleasing to the Majority of the People, had they any Inclination to Peace, or his continuing among them, might easily

easily have put an End to, without any foreign Aid or falling upon dangerous, unnatural Experiments, the Effects of which they had no long Reason to boast of ; for the considerate thinking part of the Nation soon found that a Change of Hands was not likely to produce that speedy and effectual Reformation, or Improvement, which they had been puff'd up with; they saw a Standing Army continued ; an Increase of the Revenues ; and the undue unwarrantable Influence of the Court at Elections, with the Force of Bribes, Places, Pensions, and large Grants, out of forfeited Estates, and all the rest, to his foreign Favourites, &c. tho' it was no longer before than in *Charles the Second's* Reign that the People's Notions of a Standing Army was such as to think his very Life guards dangerous to Liberty, and they were voted and declared so ; and both People and Parliament agreed in exploding, and condemning whatever carried the least Colour of a Standing Army when they overturn'd the Government of *James the Second*; whose imputed Errors, or wrong Measures, *William*, our Great Deliverer, as he was call'd, was at once to redress, and settle us upon a most solid unerring Foundation for ever after ; but alas ! we have seen that human Nature was as frail in his Reign, and at other times since, as in any former ones ; and that all, from the highest to the lowest, when in Power, are equally apt to be seduced by their own private Views and Ambition : However, after six Year's Possession, and Proceeding as before, *William* was obliged to give way to the Act for Triennial Parliaments, and a few other Laws, such as they were, for the Freedom of Elections ; but even that was entirely owing to the honest Resolutions of some worthy, indefatigable Patriots, and not to his Inclination, as may appear to every body by the Annals of those Times ; and when the People, too late, began to see the melancholy Effects of their Rashness, and Imprudence, in hurrying into so extraordinary a Change without endeavouring at milder Methods, or taking more mature Consideration, they became as uneasy in their Minds as they had been before his coming, and dreaded the Consequences as much ; they saw the Power and Designs of his foreign Favourites, and the Crew that were employ'd about him, tho' what they could then do or say signified little, for he was fix'd, and had got all he wanted ; and many who were ashame'd of what they had before run into, and insisted upon, to so little purpose, rather than acknowledge their Folly, or give those, who had oppos'd them, an Opportunity of condemning their Actions, were silent

on the Occasion, and suffer'd such Things to be done, and pass unregarded, as would have given occasion before, to change their Kings ten times over ; which is a manifest Proof that, tho' People have the same constitutional Power, and are naturally as free in one Reign as another, they are more liable to be deluded, and impos'd upon, by some than others, which must be owing to the wicked Arts, and Contrivances of their Party Leaders, on one hand, and to their own unreasonable Prejudices, and Infatuations on the other : And how far that pretended Great Work of the Revolution, as it was managed at first, and has since been continued, may have proved the initial Cause of the Oppressions that still attend us, by means of our heavy Debts, Taxes, and foreign Expences, of divers kinds, and many other Grievances daily and justly complain'd of, I shall submit to the Judgment of all impartial *Britons*, who know any thing of the past, or of our present calamitous Situation.

There is nothing so common as for Foreigners to appear in the utmost Surprise whenever this Instability, and Incoherence in the Tempers, and Notions of *Englishmen*, above all other Countrymen, comes to be mentioned before them ; they are astonish'd how to reconcile People's putting their Kings to Death, sending their Children a begging, and depoing others, upon premature Fears and Suspicions only ; and that the very same Sort of People, maintaining the same Principles in Government, should for an Age after that, submit to a thousand greater Hardships, actually executed upon them, than any thing they could have form'd an Idea of under those they had so barbarously used ; but it is impossible to frame any reasonable Excuse for such Madness, and Inconsistency so natural to the *English* ; or to attribute our Misfortunes, in this Sense, to any thing so much, as our being destructively fond of running from one Extreme to another, and giving into all manner of Divisions, and unnecessary Distinctions, tormented and kept up for vile wicked Ends, and by those only whose sole Drifts have, in all Reigns, appear'd to every honest thinking Man, to be that of building their own Fortunes, and pursuing their own ambitious Views, upon the Ruins of their Country : Therefore 'till our enthusiastic wild Distinctions and Divisions are laid aside; 'till no other Names be known among us but those of honest Men, Friends and *Britons*, acting as one for the common Good ; 'till we forsake our Prejudices one towards another, and unite as one People, under the same Government, and Constitution, and thereby become capable of apprehending

hending as dangerous Consequences, to us and our Poste-
rity, from long Parliaments, Standing Armies, heavy
Debts and Taxes, and the rest of our Grievances, as we
have done heretofore; we can never hope for any useful
Reformation, or to see the Nation flourish as it ought.

In order then to such a Happiness let us recollect what-
ever is just and lawful in the Actions and Struggles of our
Neighbours, in behalf of Liberty, and a Redress of
their Burdens and Oppressions; and then let us also con-
sider our own Interest, and Privileges, as *Englishmen*; which
can never be more aptly exprest than in some of the
Words of that notable open-spirited Burgher, Mynheer
Raap of Amsterdam, in his Speech to his Brethren, when
they attempted to obtain that Redress which they have
lately compleated, *viz.*

*To say that we are a free People, are injured, and have
no Right to complain, is to talk Nonsense: To say we have a
Right, and don't use it, is to accuse ourselves: Our Affair is that
of the Publick: Let Conspirators hide themselves in Dens and
Darkness! but let such as profess, and know themselves to be Pa-
triots, seek the Light! Neither let us be in Pain about what we
shall speak, or what others may speak of us: If what we aim
at is for the publick Good, the Design will speak for itself; and
we shall either prevail and carry it with Honour, or if not, it
will be impossible to fix any Odium upon us; because we shall
have a thousand Witnesses of our Innocence, and of the Upright-
ness of our Intentions: Besides we live in a Country govern'd by
Laws, and as we mean not to subvert, but to support the Laws,
it is impossible that the Laws should hurt us.*

These were the just and wise Sentiments of that honest
Freeman of Holland; and the Steadiness and Resolution
which accompany'd him, and his Friends, upon the Occa-
sion, has produced the desired Effect: Is it, therefore, pos-
sible that *Englishmen* and *Britons*, should fail of Redress, in
whatever oppresses them, could they once resolve, as hon-
est Men and Friends, to act upon the same Principles of
Love and Unanimity, and agreeable to those wholesome
Laws which were originally made and provided by their An-
cestors, for that Purpose?—It must certainly be impossible!
and so much as to imagine such a thing ought to be look'd
upon as the highest Indignity to the Legislative Power of
Great Britain, so long admired, as well as envy'd, by its
Neighbours for that hereditary Liberty and Freedom,
which no other Country in the World, for so many hun-
dreds of Years, could so truly and effectually boast of; and
which, even now, nothing but our own corrupt Proceed-
ings,

ings, our Irresolution, Negligence, or Disunion, can totally deprive us of.

But to conclude: Let every honest Man, in the true Interest of his Country, without regard to any other Distinction, look back, and consider the Errors, the Delusions and Infatuations, that have led us into our present Misfortunes, and unhappy Circumstances, when they will soon be convinced that the whole is owing to the wild unnecessary Divisions and Party Animosities of weak People, biggotted to the imagined outside Principles of such as have, from time to time, been at the Helm of Affairs; and then it will also appear that scarce one Man, worthy to be thought a Statesman, in the Memory of any Person now living, has been governed in the least by the Principles of either Whig or Tory, according to the common Acceptation of the Words, or that they have had any other Principles than those of Self-Interest, Ambition and Revenge; and whenever Men of Abilities have espoused Parties for the sake of the ready Pence, or future Preferments, and have thereby brought over Numbers to fill up their Cry, those Foxes, before-mention'd, at the Head of the Management have, never failed to please and divert themselves with the implicit Faith and Folly of their Bubbles; and in a Word, both Whig and Tory Statesmen, for the most part, can be Turn and Return, and put on what Faces they please, to answer their own Purposes, without any Concern for the rest of the Nation.

Did not *Shaftsbury*, after being a mere Commonwealth's Man, become one of the greatest Advocates for arbitrary Power; and, when the Duke of York had remov'd him from being Chancellor, did he not turn with the greatest Violence against the Court Interest, nay, brought in the Bill of *Exclusion*, and, from the greatest Debauchee in England, pretended to be one of the most staunch Props of the Protestant Religion? Did not those Persons, who appear'd the most firmly attach'd to King James's Interest before the Revolution, and indeed ought to be so, if the Debt of their whole Being to him was any Obligation, as soon as they found his Protection not sufficient to support them, immediately shift their feign'd Principles, and, with many others, who had comply'd with King James's Measures, and even advis'd him to what he did, upon the same Account, *Wheel about*, became staunch Whigs, and appear'd jealous of the least Encroachments from the Crown, tho' but suspected? Have not the Whigs, who always distinguished themselves by a constant Opinion that the Navy alone

alone was the only Bulwark of the Nation, scarce complying heretofore with a sufficient Guard for our Kings Persons, insisted that any Army beyond that tended to immediate arbitrary Power ? I say, have not these very Persons, notwithstanding all their former pretended Clamours on such Accounts, establish'd large and powerful Standing Armies for many Years, and when we have been at Peace with all the World ? And have not whole Families, Officers in the Army, as well as younger Brothers and Sons, Seats in Parliament, where it is their Interest to maintain and keep up such an Establishment for ever ? Are not these things become now so familiar, or indifferent to us, that the People begin to rejoice and think themselves happy that they are to have only an Army of forty thousand Men in Pay, after finishing the late ever-memorable Land War, and concluding our present most glorious Peace ; Have not many in the House of Commons violently oppos'd the Court Interest 'till they have been remov'd into the House of Lords, and then, to become Statesmen, have they not acted counter to all their pretended Principles before ? And have not many more, fresh in our Memories, who have been look'd upon unalterable in their Love of Liberty and old *England*, and as so many happy Instruments of Providence rais'd to support and save the Constitution, accepted of Places, or &c — ; and from that Moment have become the warmest Advocates for every kind of Measure, which they before condemn'd as destructive and ruinous to their Country ? And when we consider such extraordinary Actions in Men, so contrary to all Faith, Honour, or common Honesty, why should we be surpris'd at our present shatter'd Condition, or at any thing else that can befall us, except we unanimously insist with our Representatives for such Redress as the Laws and Constitution of our Country can afford us ?

Upon the whole then, since most Statesmen, of all Parties, seem to be pretty much alike when they have the Power in their Hands ; since many who have been thought the honest Heads of Parties have changed Sides when it has answer'd their private Purposes, have made Tools and Properties of those who serv'd them, and have sacrificed both them and their Country to a new Turn of Advantage ; since, I say, these things, and the unfortunate Consequences attending them, are but too evident to any Man of Thought or Reflection, how happy would it be that the People, in general, would once come to consider their own Interest, and no longer continue the Tools or Properties of any

any Men; that we would discontinue all ridiculous Distinctions among ourselves, as there is none, in reality, among them, and unite, and be as zealous, in the true Interest of the Nation, as they are for their own private Views; that we would vote all one way for worthy Members, in whom we could confide, and judge with the same Thoughts of their Transactions: Then there would be no Disputes whether Standing Armies tended to the Safety or Danger of the Constitution, or whether we were at War or Peace with all the World; and as there can be but one way of real Advantage, every Person, by such an Union, would accord in that only Way; which, thence becoming the Voice of the whole Kingdom, could not fail inclining all our Representatives, as well as every honest Man in Power, to come into the same Measures, as the most certain Method of supporting their own Honour and true Interest, with the Welfare and Happiness of their Constituents; who now, more than ever, cry aloud for their utmost, and speedy Assistance, towards delivering them from the intolerable Burdens, and Grievances, which they have so long, and undeservedly, labour'd under.

Tho' I thought to have concluded this small Pamphlet with the foregoing Observations, having accidentally dip't into some of the Proceedings of Parliament in the Reign of King Charles the First, I cannot help believing but the following Abstract of a Speech of Sir John Elliot's upon the 5d of June, 1628, must be agreeable to every impartial Reader, and true Briton, as it shews the Spirit of our English Commoners in those Days; and may very easily be adapted to many Affairs that have happen'd of a later Date, and are still fresh in our Memories; which I give you in his own plain honest Stile.

Mr. Speaker,

We sit here as the Great Council of the King, and in that Capacity it is our Duty to take into Consideration the State and Affairs of the Kingdom, and where there is Occasion to give them in a true Representation by way of Council and Advice, with what we conceive necessary or expedient for them.

In this Consideration I confess many a sad Thought hath affrighted me, and that not only in respect to our Dangers from abroad, which yet I know are great, as they have been often in this Place prest and dilated to us, but in respect to our Misfortunes here at Home we do infuse those Dangers, and by which they are occasion'd; for I believe I shall make clear unto you, that both at first the Cause of these Dangers were Misfortunes and Disorders,

Disorders, and our Disorders now are yet our greatest Dangers; and not so much the Potency of our Enemies as the Weakness of ourselves do threaten us, and that Saying of the Father may be assumed by us, Non tam Potentia sua quam Negligentia nostra. Our want of true Devotion to Heaven, our Insincerity, our want of Councils, our precipitate Actions, the Insufficiency or Unfaithfulness of our Generals abroad, the Corruptions of our Ministers at Home, the exhausting of our Treasures, Waste of our Provisions, Consumption of our Ships, Destruction of Men; this makes the Advantage to our Enemies, not the Reputation of their Arms: And if in these there be not Reformation we need no Foes Abroad, Time itself will ruin us,

Our want of Councils, that great Disorder in State, with which there cannot be Stability, if Effects may shew their Causes as they are, after a perfect Demonstration of them, our Misfortunes, our Disasters serve to prove it, and the Consequence they draw with them, if Reason be allow'd in this dark Age, the Judgment of Dependencies, and Foresight of Contingencies in Affairs, confirm it. For if we view ourselves at Home, are we in Strength or Reputation equal to our Ancestors? If we view ourselves Abroad, are our Friends as many as our Enemies? Nay, more, do our Friends retain their Safety and Possessions? Was this an Act of Council, Mr. Speaker? I have more Charity than to think it, and unless they make a Confession of themselves, I cannot believe it.

For the Insufficiency and Unfaithfulness of our Generals, that great Disorder abroad, What shall I say? I wish there were not Cause to mention it, and but out of the Apprehension of the Dangers that's to come, if the like Chance heretofore be not prevented, I could willingly be silent: But my Duty to my Sovereign, and the Service of this House, the Safety and Honour of my Country are above all other Respects: and what so nearly tendith to the Prejudice of this may not be forborn.

At Calais then, in that first Expedition we made, when we arrived and found a Conquest ready, the Spanish Ships, I mean fit for Satisfaction of a Voyage, and of which some of the chiefeſt then there themselves have ſince assured me the Satisfaction would have been ſufficient in Point of Honour or in Point of Profit, why was it not atchiev'd? it being of all Hands granted how ſensible it was after, when with the Destruction of ſome Men, and with the Expofition of ſome others, who, tho' their Fortune ſince have not been ſuck, by Chance came off: when I say with the Loss of our ſerviceable Men that unſerviceable Men were gain'd, and the whole Army landed, why was there nothing done? why was there nothing attempted? If nothing were intended, wherefore

fore did they land? If there were a Service, why were they shipt again?

For the next Undertaking at Reez I will not trouble you much, only this in short; Was not that whole Action carried against the Judgment and Opinion of the Officers that were of Council? Was not the first, was not the last, was not all in the Landing, in the Intrenching, in the Continuance there, in the Assault, in the Retreat? Did any Advice take place, of such as were of Council? If there should be made a particular Inquisition thereof, these Things will be manifest, and more I will not instance.

For the last Voyage to Rochelle, there needs no Observations, it is so fresh in Memory, nor will I make an Inference or Corollary, and all your own Knowledge shall judge what Truth, or what Sufficiency they express'd. For the next, the Ignorance and Corruption of our Ministers, where can you miss of Instances? If you survey the Court, if you survey the Country, if the Church, if the City be examin'd, if you observe the Bar, if the Courts, if the Shipping, if the Land, if the Seas; all these will render you Variety of Proofs, and in such Measure and Proportion as shew's the Greatness of our Sickness, that if it have not some speedy Remedy, our Case is most desperate, Mr. Speaker, I fear I have been too long in these Particulars that are past, and am unwilling to offend you, therefore in the rest I shall be shorter, and in that which concerns the Impoverishing of the King no other Arguments will I use, than such as all Men grant.

The Exchequer you know is empty, the Reputation thereof gone, the ancient Lands are sold, the Jewels pawn'd, the Plate ingaged, the Debt still great, almost all Charges, both ordinary and extraordinary, born by Projects: What Poverty can be greater, what Necessity so great, what perfect English Heart is not almost dissolv'd into Sorrow for the Truth for the Oppression of the Subject? which, as I remember, is the next Particular I propos'd. It needs no Demonstration, the whole Kingdom is a Proof, and for the exhausting of our Treasures Oppression speaks it; what Waste of our Provisions, Consumption of our Ships and Men have been, witness that Journey to Argiers; witness that with Mansfield; witness that to Cales; witness the next; witness the last, I pray God we may never have more such Witness; witness all what Losses we have sustain'd, how we are impair'd in Munition, in Ships, in Men. It hath no Contradiction; we were never so much weaken'd, nor had less Hope how to be restored. These, Mr. Speaker, are our Dangers, these are they do threaten us, and these are like that Trojan Horse brought in cunningly to surprize us; in these do lurk the strongest of our Enemies ready to issue on us, and if we do not now the more speedily

speedily expell them, they will be the Sign, the Invitation to others. These will prepare their Entrance that we shall have no Means left of Refuge or Defence; for if we have these Enemies at Home, how can we strive with those that are Abroad? If we be free from these no other can impeach us; being clear'd from these Disorders, having Maturity of Councils, Sufficiency of Generals, Incorruption of Officers, Opulency in the King, Liberty in the People, Repletion in Treasures, Restitution of Provisions, Reparation of Ships, Preservation of Men: Our antient English Virtue thus rectified, I say, will secure us, and unless there be a speedy Reformation in these, I know not what Hopes or Expectations we may have.

These Things, Sir, I shall desire to have taken into Consideration; that as we are the Great Council of the Kingdom, and have the Apprehension of these Dangers, we may truly represent them unto the King, wherein I conceive we are bound by a treble Obligation of Duty to God, of Duty to his Majesty, and of Duty to our Country, &c.

F I N I S.



